

July 12, 1974

L. B. Grant

14 West

RECEIVED

JUL 15 1974

Letter to John Stendor on Proposed Permanent Standards on VCM
dated July 1, 1974

Mr. V. A. Sarni
Vice President Industrial Chemical Division

I previously made comments and recommendations on a draft of the subject letter. I have comments on the subject letter which, I feel, should be brought to your attention at this time.

The Chemical Division, in their February 8, 1974 letter, had taken the position "to prevent an employee's exposure to VCM." A copy of this position statement was attached to the subject letter. In my opinion, the subject letter expresses a contrary view in that it recommends significant exposure levels be permitted without the use of respiratory protection. From the standpoint of engineering control of VCM, a time schedule for reducing VCM air concentrations is most reasonable. However, from a health standpoint, permitting exposure concentrations of employees above 1 ppm time weighted average or 3 ppm ceiling is not wise and respiratory protection should be recommended until such time as the air concentrations of VCM are so reduced.

My review of the VCM Occupational Health Programs at PPG Caribe, Lake Charles and Paulsboro, indicate that the use of respiratory protection at levels above the time weighted average of one-part per million and the ceiling of three-parts per million is practical and would require only minimal use of respiratory protection by the employees.

Another point concerning the subject letter is that it states in the second paragraph on the first page that PPG or other U.S. monomer producers would be unable to meet the work practice standard recommending a non-detectible VCM exposure level. On the other hand, Dow Chemical, in a June 29, 1974 article in the Washington Post, (see attachment #1) made the point that "it had already met many of the proposed standards for limiting contact" with VCM. In my opinion, the PPG position should emphasize the importance of preventing VCM exposure of its employees and that such is being done now in its operations with only minimal need to rely on the use of respiratory protection.

On page three, it is stated that PPG has a current internal work practices guideline for VCM production. To my knowledge, this guideline is only in draft form and has not been recommended for implementation. I agree with the necessity for such a guideline and have commented on the draft of such a guideline in another letter to you dated this date.

Lee B. Grant, M. D.

LBG:pc

cc: Z. Bell

L. Sargent R. Sourvine R. Viding E. Black

Attachment

F. Tranzo

SL 074125

July 12, 1974

L. B. Grant

14 West

Occupational Safety and Health Work Practices Guideline for the
Storage and Loading of VCM, June 21, 1974 Revision

R. W. A. Sarni
Vice President, Industrial Chemical Division

I have previously made comments and recommendations on an earlier version of the subject draft. I have the following comments and recommendations on the subject draft.

The purpose of the work practices guideline should be to prevent exposure of employees to VCM. This was the stated goal of the Chemical Division in the February 8, 1974 recommended letter for employees and customers. Exposure of employees should be defined in terms of air concentration of VCM. A practical level, considering commonly available sampling and analytical techniques, is a time-weighted, average concentration of one part per million and a ceiling concentration of three parts per million. Furthermore, presently available toxicological information strongly suggests to me that exposure of employees to higher concentrations than this would be unwise. It is, therefore, recommended that the following changes or additions be made to the subject draft:

Paragraph II - Change limit exposure of workers to "prevent exposure of employees"

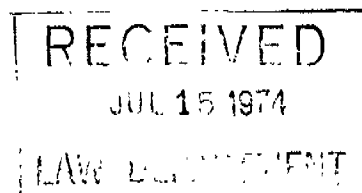
Paragraph III - Add sub-paragraph j) - "Exposure of employees to VCM" means to air concentrations greater than one-part per million time-weighted average or three parts per million ceiling.

Paragraph VII & 4) - "Appropriate respiratory protection shall be required for any operation in which an employee is potentially exposed to VCM, as shown by current environmental monitoring."

Lee B. Grant, A. B.

LBG:pc

cc: Z. Bell
L. Sargent
E. Slack
R. Sourvine
F. Tranzo
R. Widing



SL 074126

C. K. Dilley

July 12, 1974

R. E. Sourwine

19 East

Draft Environmental
Impact Statement on
Vinyl Chloride

VCM

In reply to your request for comment on the Draft Environmental Impact Statement on Vinyl Chloride, I have discussed this with Mr. Joseph Hadley, Keller & Heckman, counsel for the Society of the Plastics Industry, Incorporated. His comments are as follows:

- 1) Mr. Ed Kline, representative from the Office of the Solicitor, Department of Labor, made a statement for the record at the recent DOL hearings on the proposed permanent standard on VCM that OSHA would take the testimony that has been given during the VCM hearing as comment on the Draft Environmental Impact Statement.
- 2) SPI is planning to formulate some comment on the EIS in the near future.

Mr. Hadley stated that if PPG had information or data to add, or if PPG wished to clarify some details of the report, we could make written comment.

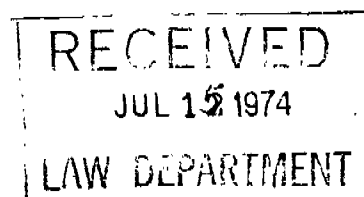
Since Mr. Frank Trunzo, PPG Law Department, has recommended that we do not comment on the Draft EIS, and we have submitted written testimony to the DOL, I recommend that we do not make any further comment on the Draft EIS

Robert E. Sourwine

Robert E. Sourwine

RES/jmj

cc: Z. G. Bell
L. F. Sargert
F. J. Trunzo
R. E. Widing



SL 074127

July 1974

Lee B. Grant

14 West

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM REVIEW, PAULSBORO TERMINAL
JULY 8, 1974

Mr. V. A. Sarni
Vice President, Industrial Chemical Division

I. Background

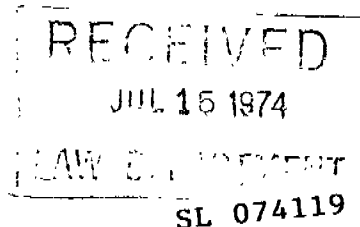
Paulsboro Terminal became operational during the fall of 1971 and shortly thereafter received its first shipment of VCM from PPG Caribe aboard the U. S. Puerto Rican. The VCM, caustic and glycol terminal was built by PPG, sold to Mantu Properties, leased from Mantu Chemical by PPG. Mantu Chemicals operate all terminal facilities and employ about 33 employees. Other companies (i.e., Continental Oil, Diamond Shamrock, Petrotex and Atlantic City Electric) have leasing arrangements similar to PPG. Other products passing through the terminal include crude oil and butadiene. Mr. William Packard is president and principal owner of the terminal. Mr. George Barton is manager of the terminal.

At present, the terminal receives two shipments of VCM per month from Caribe. Its maximum VCM shipping capacity is 22 trucks and eight tank cars per day. Its principal shipping points include B. F. Goodrich, Diamond Shamrock, Padacost, Olin Matheson, General Tire and Cennat.

The truck contract for shipping is with Matlack. The U. S. Puerto Rican is owned and operated by Hende Corporation located in Los Angeles. Mr. William Hammond of PPG has the responsibility for liaison with Hende Corporation. Mr. Jack Graham of PPG has the responsibility for liaison with Matlack and the railroad shippers. Mr. George Zapp of PPG has liaison with PPG VCM customers.

II. Activities

The undersigned was accompanied on the subject visit by Dr. Zeb Bell and Mr. Frank DeWoody of PPG. The undersigned met with Mr. George Barton and discussed the VCM occupational health program. The undersigned made a tour of the facilities and met with Dr. A. DiMarino. Dr. DiMarino is a local physician who limits his practice to internal medicine. He has performed pre-placement examinations on many of the terminal employees and in a letter dated May 29, 1974 he was asked to perform the VCM periodic examinations.



The undersigned briefed Mr. Barton and Dr. DiMarino on the toxicology and health aspects to date concerning VCM emphasizing that liver malignancies have been produced in both mice and rats at the lowest inhalation concentration tested to date (i.e., 50 ppm in air). Therefore, the health goal should be to prevent employee exposure to VCM air concentrations above the time-weighted average concentration of 1 ppm or above a ceiling concentration of 3 ppm unless or until additional information suggests a no effect level in humans.

III. Comments and Recommendations

A. Employee Information

1. Comment

No formal written employee information program on the health aspects of VCM has been implemented. Some information has been provided to the employees who have made inquiries as a result of press releases concerning VCM toxicity. A copy of the February 8 and April 30, 1974 recommendations from the Chemical Division concerning employee information were forwarded to Mantu Chemicals, but not passed on to their employees in written form.

2. Recommendations

- a. The information contained in the February 8 and April 30 letters referred above should be provided to the employees in written form. This could be done when the employees are informed about the periodic medical examination program and the work practices recommendations, both of which will be discussed below.
- b. The employee information program should be kept current as new information becomes available. Recommendations for such release should be made by the Chemical Division.
- c. Copies of letters provided by Mantu Chemicals to their employees should be sent to the undersigned.

B. Medical Examinations

1. Comment

Reportedly, about 70% of the 33 employees have received pre-employment examinations from Dr. Anthony DiMarino. The extent of this examination is not known. None of the employees have received the NIOSH recommended examination for VCM exposed workers. A letter requesting such an examination was sent to Dr. DiMarino on May 29, 1974. The reason for and the nature of the examinations were discussed with Dr. DiMarino by the undersigned. The undersigned will provide Dr. DiMarino with a copy of a CDC report for week ending February 9, 1974 on angiosarcoma of the liver associated with VCM exposure and also the NIOSH recommendations for vinyl chloride medical surveillance dated March 21, 1974.

2. Recommendations

- a. The NIOSH recommended medical examination for VCM exposed workers should be accomplished now and annually hereafter.
- b. Results of examinations should be forwarded to the undersigned for review and comment.

C. Environmental Monitoring

1. Comments

VCM monitoring was begun on April 16, 1974 with assistance from Mr. L. Kuryla. Only personal monitoring is being performed and only ceiling concentrations are being measured. Monitoring is being performed with a Bendix pump and charcoal tubes provided and analyzed by the Barberton Laboratories. A summary of the sampling and analysis done thus far is shown in attachment #1. In all, 18 samples have been taken and analyzed. Several samples were taken on May 31, but have not been sent for analysis. Of the 18 samples, four were above the 3 ppm ceiling concentration (i.e., three of seven on tank car and truck loaders and one of five on the lab technician). Only the lab technician sampled exceeded the temporary emergency standard of 50 ppm. This employee was aware of the high reading. It was obtained while he was taking a quality control VCM sample during tank car loading.

Additional sampling pumps were ordered, about a month and a half ago, but as yet have not been received. Insufficient environmental sampling has been done to determine respiratory protection requirements, if any.

2. Recommendations

- a. At least three time-weighted average samples should be taken on employees in each job title in which there is a potential exposure to VCM. These should be six to eight hour samples.
- b. At least three additional ceiling samples should be taken on employees in the job title 'Tank car and truck loaders' during each of the following operations: tank car loading, truck loading, and ship unloading. The sampling period should include the disconnect operations.
- c. At least three additional ceiling samples should be taken on the lab technician during his quality control sampling.
- d. Copies of all sampling results should be provided to the undersigned for review and comment.

B. Work Practices

1. Comment

Work practices recommendations covering respiratory protection, protective clothing, warning signs, labeling, etc. have not been provided to Mantu Chemicals by PPG as yet. Written work practice instructions have not been developed and implemented at Paulsboro.

2. Recommendations

Work practices recommendations should be developed with the assistance of PPG and implemented locally as soon as possible. The goal of these work practices should be to prevent employee exposure to VCM.

Mr. V. A. Sarni

Page 5

July 15, 1974

IV. Warning for Shippers and Customers

Subjects have raised the question to written warnings provided by PPG to shippers and customers concerning the health hazards associated with exposure to VCM. It is requested that the undersigned be provided with copies of any letters of warning provided to Matlack, Bende and VCM customers for review and comment.

Lee B. Grant, M.D.

LBG:ml

cc Z. Ball
F. DeWoody
R. Sourwine
F. Trunzo
R. Widing

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DATES MONITORED AND VALUES OBTAINED (IN PPM)

Job Title	16	April 26	7	May 13	7	18
Refrigeration Unit Operator	<.1	.1	.2	.	.	.
Lab Technician	.7	2.2 1.6	.2			74.2
Truck Car and Truck Loader	3.3 1	.4 <.1	.2		16.4 3.1	
Office Manager	.	.				<.1
Secretary	.	.	.		.	<.1
Secretary/Switchboard Operator	.	.	.		.	<.1

SL 074124

Send to F. Trunzo

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Shelby

NO REPLY REQUIRED

J. Corey

June 17, 1974

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

E 3941

"Let them make some judgments of their own," Mizell said. "Let them decide between what's fact and what's fiction, what's truth and what's rhetoric, what is partisan politics and what isn't."

Mizell also suggested that the committee deal with the charges against Nixon one at a time—completing the Watergate phase of the inquiry before moving on to campaign contributions, political favors, and other issues.

He said television coverage of the House impeachment proceedings, and the Senate trial as well if the House impeaches Nixon should be allowed. "This is something that's important to all of the people," he said, "not just 435 House members."

Throughout the interview, the only question that momentarily seemed to stump Mizell was the last one. "If it turns out that you have to vote on impeachment," he was asked, "would that be the toughest vote of your career in Congress?"

While his guestsidgeted, Mizell spent what seemed like several minutes—it was actually about 30 seconds—staring into space before giving this carefully-worded reply:

"In terms of the impact on the nation," he said, "it would be the most important issue Congress would be confronted with since I've been here."

DEATH OF TWO POLYVINYL CHLORIDE WORKERS FROM RARE TYPE OF CANCER IS VERIFIED

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1974

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, 700,000 to 800,000 workers in the United States shape a white plastic resin called polyvinyl chloride into thousands of different plastic products.

Trapped within the resin is a clear, odorless, and deadly gas called vinyl chloride which is emitted when the resin is heated to be forged and processed into consumer products. Although we have been aware since January that the vinyl chloride gas is causing a rare liver cancer and numerous other diseases among the 6,500 American workers whose jobs bring them into direct contact with it, scientists have been uncertain as to the effect working with the plastic resin is having on the polyvinyl chloride workers who represent a group more than 100 times larger than the vinyl chloride workers.

The following article from the Wall Street Journal indicates increasing evidence that exposure to the resin can cause at least some of the same deadly ill effects as exposure to the gas:

DEATH OF TWO POLYVINYL CHLORIDE WORKERS FROM RARE TYPE OF CANCER IS VERIFIED

(By Barry Kramer)

A second death from angiosarcoma of the liver, a rare form of cancer previously linked to vinyl chloride occupational exposure, has been discovered in the polyvinyl chloride plastic fabricating industry, the Connecticut Health Department announced in Hartford.

The two deaths increase concern that the occupational danger of cancer from vinyl chloride, a gas used to make polyvinyl chloride plastic, may be more widespread than had been thought. Since January, 13 cases of liver angiosarcoma have been detected among vinyl chloride workers from plants that manufactured the gas or that

polymerized the gas into the plastic. Six other cases have been reported abroad.

But the Connecticut cases are the first known in the polyvinyl chloride fabricating industry, which turns the plastic into a myriad of finished products ranging from furniture to coated fabric to electric cable covering. German scientists recently reported finding "precursors" of angiosarcoma in the livers of six workers in a plant that turned polyvinyl chloride plastic into floor tiles.

But the Connecticut causes, confirmed as angiosarcoma by the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md., are the first actual cases. In the U.S. an estimated 6,500 persons work in the vinyl chloride industry, while the number working in the polyvinyl chloride industry numbers in the hundreds of thousands.

The Connecticut Health Department announced the first case last week, and General Electric Co. disclosed that it was a 60-year-old employee who for 30 years had operated machines at a Bridgeport cable manufacturing plant that processed various plastics, including polyvinyl chloride. The man died last July, GE said.

The second case involved a man who worked as an accountant in a polyvinyl chloride fabricating plant in the same part of the state. A health department spokesman declined to identify the factory involved, and a Labor Department spokesman in Washington identified it only as a Stratford plant that makes polyvinyl-coated fabrics. A further investigation is being undertaken to learn if the accountant ever worked on the production line.

Although a definite relationship between occupational exposure and angiosarcoma in the two polyvinyl chloride workers cannot be made, the Labor Department spokesman said contact with all other chemicals, drugs and diseases than can effect the liver had been ruled out in the two cases, leaving only polyvinyl chloride as a known possibility.

Connecticut's cancer registry, which uncovered the two cases and which is one of the oldest and most accurate in the nation, lists six confirmed cases of angiosarcoma of the liver since the registry was begun in 1935. The other four cases didn't have known exposure to either vinyl chloride or polyvinyl chloride, according to Dr. Barbara Christine, chief of the health department's chronic disease section. She said the link between polyvinyl chloride and the two angiosarcoma deaths "might just be chance."

The link between vinyl chloride gas and liver angiosarcoma is strong, and scientists believe that if a link is determined between exposure to polyvinyl chloride plastic and the rare cancer it will be because the plastic contains pockets of unpolymerized vinyl chloride monomer that are liberated in heating the plastic when it is fabricated into different products.

Labor Department hearings designed to set permanent standards for vinyl chloride atmospheric concentrations in factories are scheduled to begin June 25 in Washington. A temporary ceiling of 50 parts vinyl chloride per million parts of air is currently in effect and the Labor Department has proposed a limit at levels too small to be detected, a requirement the industry has said would be impossible to meet.

THE RUNAWAY MILITARY BUDGET

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1974

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, last week, the Pentagon won another round over those in Congress who seek to bring mil-

itary expenditures under some meaningful control. Regrettably, we lost three amendments to curb spending, limit troops abroad, and eliminate funding for the new manned bomber. In spite of losses, the efforts of the losing side should be place in perspective.

For years now, in the name of an adequate defense, Pentagon spenders have literally run amuck with the Federal Treasury. When any voice has been raised against the quantum jumps in military expenditures, those of us who have raised our voices have been either pooh-pooed or indirectly accused of indifference to an adequate national defense.

Therefore, we have had to undertake an effort in the Congress similar to that required to end American participation in the Vietnam imbroglio. As a Congressional veteran of that years-long effort, I see a pattern developing. And I feel that in the end, just as in the case of Southeast Asia, we shall eventually and inevitably have successes of some kind.

There is no desire of my part to hurt vital aspects of national defense. Rather, I wish to see this country as strong as any nation in the world and then some. Senator JACKSON's distrusting views of Soviet intentions certainly strike an echo in my mind. Nonetheless, we cannot spend the Nation to fiscal death and ruin in the name of defense. There must be a limit, and regrettably, the Pentagon has refused to heed our warnings.

It is ridiculous for the Nation to pursue procurement of every military toy emerging from the fertile minds of military scientists. For example, the B-1 manned bomber. It is costing us double the original projections to keep up the production effort. Yet the unfortunate evidence of the recent Middle East war indicate that the day of the manned bomber is largely over. In fact, military observers have been claiming that for years. The last waves of North Vietnam bombings with B-52's and the casualties we sustained then surely brought home that lesson. We have enough ICBM's in various forms, and MIRV's, to annihilate mankind, yet the Air Force bomber jockeys in the Pentagon insist on reliving the "wild blue yonder" days of World War II at taxpayer expense.

A similar mentality prevails regarding American troops overseas. Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of U.S. service personnel are stationed in the most useless places performing the most unnecessary tasks at crippling taxpayer expense. We presently maintain approximately 350,000 American troops in Europe to hold the hands of our NATO allies. A corporal's guard would suffice to show the flag. Instead, we maintain a massive human trip wire which would serve no useful purpose in case of a massive invasion of Western Europe by the Warsaw Pact countries. These troops are costing America's taxpayers billions annually, filling European pockets and adding not one whit to our real defense.

It is, however, a cushy tour and billet for a number of officers who require a reason for being. What is worse, our forces in Europe are encumbered with their dependents, a questionable policy on the part of a military force supposedly

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on duty for combat duty. These dependents in their turn cost our balance of payments mightily every year.

Taken all together, the situation is a luxury America can no longer afford in these present times of shortages, rampant inflation and crying domestic needs. If the military will not see that this situation is rapidly becoming intolerable, and will not yield an inch, then the time is coming for us here in the Congress to draw the lines and fight them annually every inch of the way until we inevitably win out, as was the case with the Vietnam involvement.

This year we lost every battle save one. Next time, we shall assuredly mount a stronger, more determined effort to curb this military spending machine, which is hurting America domestically. My district cannot obtain desperately needed aid in areas like old age assistance, urban mass transit aid, pollution control, housing and a number of other sectors of concern. This is the case because so much is being spent on unnecessary concerns like the endeavors I have alluded to in these remarks. So Members like myself, recognizing the needs of our constituents, have no option but to take the route we have chosen. And in the end, we shall prevail.

THE DOMESTIC FOOD ASSISTANCE ACT

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1974

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, just as I did earlier in connection with the School Lunch Act, I rise in support of this bill, but only with the understanding that this is the last year we will be operating this program by purchasing food products through the Commodity Credit Corporation.

This bill will continue the Federal Government in the business of food purchase and distribution—a business that can be better operated by the private sector at a lesser cost to the taxpayer. Again, I have no objection to the programs that will ultimately benefit by the purchase and distribution of this food. These beneficiaries include children in summer camps, people made homeless by natural disasters, and the poor and elderly in various institutions.

These programs are beneficial and as long as a majority of our society supports such efforts, Congress shall continue to appropriate funds for them.

However, as I did in connection with the School Lunch Act, I object here to the Federal Government getting into the food purchase and distribution business in direct competition with private industry.

In this case as in the School Lunch Act program, the interests of the beneficiaries and the American taxpayer would be better served if a check for the cost of the food products was turned over to the localities and they were permitted

to go out into the marketplace themselves and purchase their products.

Whenever the Government gets into a business ordinarily handled in the private sector costs go up. This is particularly true in the food purchase and distribution business because of the very low profit margins on which such private sector firms operate. I hope this is the last time this body will have to vote for keeping the Federal Government in a business better operated by private firms.

SOCIETY NEEDS BOOSTER SHOT OF ETHICS

HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 17, 1974

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, when our Founding Fathers created this Nation, they injected a strong dose of morality into its leadership system.

Regrettably, this moral potency has dissipated over the years and in recent decades we have witnessed the rise of materialism and its companion philosophy of the end justifying the means. Just how deeply this philosophy has infected our society is obvious to anyone reading his daily newspaper.

What we need now to immunize us from future infections is a good booster shot of ethics into every vein of society, from education and government to business and labor.

One of the most eloquent arguments for this treatment was presented by Donald O'Toole, chairman of the board of Heritage Bancorporation at Lewis University, a school in my home district in Illinois.

I am submitting his remarks for the Record and I hope my colleagues will read them and think hard about them:

THE NEED FOR GRADUATES OF RELIGIOUSLY ORIENTED UNIVERSITIES

(Commencement address, Lewis University, by Donald O'Toole)

The leadership of the United States was never so highly educated as today. Never have our businesses, industries, professional, labor, and farming activities been headed by so many with college degrees. Never especially has our political leadership included so many lawyers and other educated men who hold masters' and doctorate degrees. And they all lead the most broadly and highly educated nation in the world.

Yet today we find ourselves shocked by daily discoveries of cheap, shoddy, and disgraceful actions by Americans who have been holding our most honored and respected positions of leadership. And we are further shocked that most of the other nations in the world are disgusted and fed up with us—are treating our political and business leaders with contempt, seizing the properties of American corporations and throwing them out of their countries, and defying us. Less than thirty years ago we began a twenty-year outpouring of enormous generosity to those same nations, billions of dollars of outright gifts of food and clothing, money, equipment, and American know-how, to establish and build up their industrial and farming economies, and to bring new educational and social sciences to their disordered and often savage lives.

Watergate and its endless disclosures of

disgraceful activities far beyond the stupid attempt to burglarize the Democratic Party's national headquarters have brought all these things into focus. But they have been a long time abuilding. We started on the downward path from respect for ourselves and from the entire rest of the world a long time back, at least as far as World War II.

Watergate has stripped the thin veil which blurred our image of the many men who led us into the whole mess of today. They have been playing evil games with each other on a stage which could no longer contain them—their numbers and activities burst through the veil and into the laps of the ordinary Americans who have been paying, and will long continue to pay, for the whole evil performance.

Watergate has brought into focus a terrible series of crimes against the Constitution, our laws, and our rights as men, as well as the men of other nations. We have witnessed the indictments and convictions of high government officials who have violated their oaths of office, sold political favors, granted exemptions from anti-trust and other laws; arranged embargoes and high tariffs on low-priced foreign goods and on oil we badly needed for the benefit of powerful corporations and wealthy individuals; sought and accepted political contributions in thinly veiled violations of newly enacted laws; and on and on through an endless list of high crimes. Worst of all, they have been found to have lied under oath and to have induced others to testify falsely. And every official indicted or under investigation thus far is a graduate of an American college or university, most of them educated as lawyers.

Along with them American business and industrial leaders have been brought to the bar of justice to confess their guilt, often in tears, to having bought political favors, bribed and made illegal contributions to campaign funds, to gain exemptions from prosecutions for violations of laws, to secure embargoes and protective tariffs behind which they could exact high prices from American consumers, and to get wholly unreasonable exemptions from taxes. Labor leaders have been tried and found guilty of stealing from their unions, using pension funds to finance personal undertakings, executing sweetheart contracts for bribes from employers.

For all of them the end has been the penalties that men fear worst—disbarments, heavy fines, imprisonments, and disgrace for the rest of their lives.

The shock and anguish the ordinary American people have had to suffer from these awful disclosures constitute their realization that they have been paying and will long continue to pay for all of this. It was the heavy tax burden they bore that made up for the unreasonable exemptions granted to the powerful, it was they who paid for the horrible Viet Nam War in billions of dollars and the lives of their own sons. Their money and trust in their government enabled power-hungry military men and politicians, and manufacturers of war materials, to gain higher rank, power, and profits from spending those billions on death-dealing planes and bombs which killed millions of simple Oriental people who never hurt us, destroyed their schools and hospitals, and defoliated their rich fields and lush forests. And it is they, the ordinary Americans, who must now strike down these evils, and regain our own self-respect and that of the rest of the world.

We must find new leaders to guide us out of this. Who will they be? How will we be able to recognize them?

Let us take one more look at Watergate. If we examine into the evidence, we find one common excuse throughout: The end justified the means. For all of these men the election of a certain man or party justified the breaking of any laws which might im-